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T H E

# C R I S I S.

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N U M B E R LXXII. *To be continued Weekly,*  
*DURING THE PRESENT BLOODY CIVIL WAR IN AMERICA.*

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SATURDAY, June 1, 1776, [Price Two-pence Halfpenny.

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For the C R I S I S.

To the worst and most infamous minister that ever disgraced  
this Country, LORD NORTH,



H A T is government, but a trust committed by all or the most, to one, or a few, who are to attend upon the affairs of all, that every one may with the more security, attend upon his own? a great and honourable trust; but too seldom honourably executed; those who possess it having it often more at heart to encrease their power, than to make it useful; and to be terrible rather than beneficent. It is therefore a trust which ought to be bounded with many and strong restraints, because power renders men wanton, insolent to others and fond of themselves. Every violation therefore of this trust, where such violation is considerable, ought to meet with proportionable punishment; and the smallest violation of it ought to meet with some, because indulgence to the least faults in magistrates may be cruelty to the whole people.

Honesty



Honesty, diligence, and plain sense, are the only talents necessary for the executing this trust; and the public good is its only end: as to refinements and finesses, they are only the false appearances of wisdom and parts, and oftener tricks to hide guilt and emptiness; and they are generally mean and dishonest: they are the arts of jobbers in politics. who, playing their own game under the public cover, subsist upon poor shifts and expedients; starved politicians, who live from hand to mouth, from day to day, and following the little views of ambition, avarice, revenge, and the like personal passions, are ashamed to avow them, yet want souls great enough to forsake them; small wicked statesmen, who make a private market of the public, and deceive it in order to sell it.

These are the poor parts which great and good governors scorn to play, and cannot play; their designs like their stations, being purely public, are open and undisguised. They do not consider their people as their prey, nor lie in ambush for their subjects; nor dread, and treat and surprise them like enemies, as all ill magistrates do; who are not governors but jailors and sponges, who chain them and squeeze them, and yet take it very ill if they do but murmur; which is yet much less than a people so abused ought to do. There have been times and countries, when public ministers and public enemies have been the same individual men. What a melancholy reflection is this, that the most terrible and mischievous foes to a nation should be its magistrates! and yet in every enslaved country, which is almost every country, this is their woful case.

Honesty and plainness, go always together, and the makers and multipliers of mysteries, in the political way, are shrewdly to be suspected of dark designs. *Cincinnatus* was taken from the plough to save and defend the *Roman* state; an office which he executed honestly and successfully, without the grimace and gains of a statesman. Nor did he afterwards continue obstinately at the head of affairs, to form a party, raise a fortune, and settle himself in power: as he came into it with universal consent, he resigned it with universal applause.

It seems that government was not in those days a trade, at least a gainful trade,---Honest *Cincinnatus* was but a farmer: and happy had it



it been for the *Romans*, if when they were enslaved, they could have taken the administration out of the hands of the emperors, and their refined politicians, and committed it to such farmers, or any farmers. It is certain many of their imperial governors acted more ridiculously than a board of ploughmen would have done, and more barbarously than a club of butchers could have done.

But some have said it is not the business of private men to meddle with government. A bold, false and dishonest saying; and whoever says it either knows not what he says, or cares not, or slavishly speaks the sense of others. It is a cant now in England, and which never prevailed but when liberty and the constitution were attacked, and never can prevail but upon the like occasion.

It is a vexation to be obliged to answer nonsense, and confute absurdities: but since it is and has been the great design of this paper to maintain and explain the glorious principles of liberty, and to expose the arts of those who would darken or destroy them; I shall here particularly shew the wickedness and stupidity of the above saying; which is fit to come from no mouth but that of a tyrant or a slave, and can never be heard by any man of an honest and free soul, without horror and indignation: it is in short, a saying, which ought to render the man who utters it for ever incapable of place or credit in a free country, as it shews the malignity of his heart, and the baseness of his nature, and as it is the pronouncing of a doom upon our constitution.----A crime or rather a complication of crimes, for which a lasting infamy ought to be but part of the punishment.

But to the falshood of the thing, public truths ought never to be kept secrets; and they who do it, are guilty of a solzicism, and a contradiction: every man ought to know what it concerns all to know. Now nothing upon earth is of a more universal nature than government; and every private man upon earth has a concern in it, because in it is concerned, and nearly and immediately concerned, his virtue, his property and the security of his person: and where all these are best preserved and advanced, the government is best administered; and where they are not, the government is impotent, wicked or unfortunate; and where the government is so, the people will be so, there being always and every where a certain sympathy and analogy



logy between the nature of the government and the nature of the people. This holds true in every instance. Public men are the patterns of private; and the virtues and vices of the governors become quickly the virtues and vices of the governed.

Nor is it example alone that does it. Ill governments, subsisting by vice and rapine, are jealous of private virtue, and enemies to private property. They must be wicked and mischievous to be what they are; nor are they secure while any thing good or valuable is secure. Hence it is, that to drain, worry, and debauch their subjects, are the steady maxims of their politics, their favourite arts of reigning. In this wretched situation, the people to be safe, must be poor and lewd: there will be but little industry where property is precarious; small honesty where virtue is dangerous

Profuseness or frugality, and the like virtues or vices, which affect the public, will be practised in the city, if they be practised in the court, and in the country if they be in the city. Even NERO that royal monster in man's shape, was adored by the common herd of Rome, as much as he was flattered by the great; and both the little and the great admired, or pretended to admire his manners, and many to immitate them. TACITUS tells us, that those sort of people long lamented him, and rejoiced in the choice of a successor that resembled him, even the profligate OTHO.

Good government does on the contrary, produce great virtue, much happiness, and many people. Greece and Italy, while they continued free, were each of them for the number of inhabitants, like one continued city; for virtue, knowledge, and great men, they were the standards of the world; and that age and country which could come nearest to them, has ever since been reckned the happiest. Their government, their free government, was the root of all these advantages, and of all this felicity and renown; and in these great and fortunate states the people were the principals in the government; laws were made by their judgment and authority, and by their voice and commands were magistrates created and condemned. The city of Rome could conquer the world; nor could the great Persian monarch, the greatest then upon earth, stand before the face of one Greek city.

But



But what are *Greece* and *Italy* now? *Rome* has in it a herd of pampered Monks. and a few starving lay inhabitants; the *Campania* of *Rome*, the finest spot of earth in Europe, is a desert. And for the modern Greeks, they are a few abject contemptible slaves, kept under ignorance, chains and vileness by the Turkish monarch, who keeps a great part of the globe intensely miserable, that he may seem great without being so.

Such is the difference between one government and another, and of such important concernment is the nature and administration of government to a people. And to say that private men have nothing to do with government, is to say that private men have nothing to do with their own happiness and misery.

What is the public, but a collective body of private men, as every private man is a member of the public? and as the whole ought to be concerned for the preservation of every private individual, it is the duty of every individual to be concerned for the whole, in which himself is included.

One man or a few men have often pretended the public and meant themselves, and consulted their own personal interest, in instances essential to its well-being; but the whole people, by consulting their own interest, consult the public, and act for the public by acting for themselves: this is particularly the spirit of our constitution, in which the whole nation is represented; and our records afford instances, where the house of commons have declined entering upon a question of importance, till they had gone into the country, and consulted their principals, the people: so far were they from thinking that private men had no right to meddle with government. In truth our whole worldly happiness and misery (abating for accidents and diseases) are owing to the order and mismanagement of government; and he who says that private men have no concern with government, does wisely and modestly tell us, that men have no concern in that concerns them most; it is saying that people ought not to concern themselves whether they be naked or clothed, fed or starved, deceived or instructed, and whether they be protected or destroyed: what nonsense and servitude in a free and wise nation!

By



By the bill of rights, and the act of settlement, at the revolution, a right is asserted to the people of applying to the king and to the parliament, by petition and address, for a redress of public grievances and mismanagements, when such there are, of which they are left to judge: and the difference between free and enslaved countries lies principally here, that in the former, their magistrates must consult the voice and interest of the people; but in the latter, the private will, interest, and pleasure of the governors, are the sole end and motives of their administration. Under this plan you and your infamous colleagues in office, have regularly proceeded during the whole course of the present diabolical reign.

Such is the difference between England and Turkey; which difference they who say that private men have no right to concern themselves with government, would absolutely destroy; they would convert magistrates into bashaws, and introduce *popery* into politics. The late revolution stands upon the very opposite maxim; and that any man dares to contradict it since the revolution would be amazing, did we not know that there are, in England, wretches who would betray their God and their country for hire

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By **WILLIAM MOORE,**

Author of the NORTH BRITONS Extraordinary, and the WHISPERERS. &c

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